*The*
# COMMONWEAL

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## *Carving Up Germany*

IT IS BEING SAID by statesmen in England and in France that a European Federation can only be considered after an exhaustive study of possibilities and methods. It would be unfortunate for these statesmen and their countries, more unfortunate for the Germans, the Poles and the rest of Europe, if they reached the end of the war without knowing what they then proposed to do. We suggest that they hasten their studies after starting them with at least this principle in mind: that it is neither reasonable nor practical to suppose that the German people will ever be willing to live in a loose decentralized federation of demilitarized and impotent German states if, and so long as, the rest of Europe is organized into a powerful federation of powerful states controlling extra-European resources of men and materials. Wilhelm Sollman, Rhenish member of the Reichstag from 1919 to 1933, writes in the New York *Times,* February 4: "One should not forget that there never has been any political group in Germany which did not claim the right to national unity for Germany and national sovereignty." The real problem and need for a federated Europe arise precisely from the fact that just as long as the European nations are centralized, sovereign and selfish, there will be a German nation insisting on centralization, full sovereignty, and seeking aggrandizement. There can be no peace, although there can be another armistice of indeterminable length, if Europe keeps unchanged the character of the units which are now at war. Obviously this change in character is most immediately desirable in Germany. But war in itself will not determine the change; it can only be a means to render possible the change. It can remove the Nazi police.

And France and Britain

Ultimately the change can come only through the free decision of the German people, and that decision will not be made until it is clear that a new moral, economic and political European formation has been created into which the Germans can enter on terms of equality. To create this new formation means, for the British, to modify their conception of Empire; for the French, the theory and practice of colonial exploitation. The war may lead to peace when these sacrifices are admitted.

## *Despair*

SOME WEEKS ago we said that the problem of the Far East has "more spines than a horsechestnut burr; good luck and patience to those who must grasp it." This week we put on the toughest pair of editorial gloves we could find and tried grasping it ourselves. We admit that the spines are too much for us. Try as we will, we can find no reasonable policy to advocate. There seems to be something the matter with every solution. At least Americans can be aware of the questions to be asked: here are a few of them. Should there be an embargo on exports to Japan (on all exports, or merely on war materials)? That might lead us into war. Should we make a new trade treaty? That would probably prolong the present war. What effect will any action of ours have upon the Philippines? upon our fortifying Guam? upon our military and naval programs? Is not any settlement in the Far East contingent upon a settlement in Europe (and *vice versa*)? Should we modify the standing insult which is the Exclusion Act? Would a Japanese victory adversely affect the spread of Christianity in Asia? Is it better for the Chinese people to be ruled by their own politicians, whose records are far from clean, or by the Japanese military? Would not the almost inevitable eventual cultural victory of China be better for everyone concerned than the present slaughter, which is incident upon the attempt at political victory? The questions multiply as fast as tent caterpillars. The more we look at the nest, the better we understand the State Department's "day to day" policy, though that cannot last forever, either. The problem still has more spines than a horsechestnut burr.

Too Much for Us



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### *Farm Bill, Economy Bill*

WITH NO FINAL RECORD vote, the House approved a farm bill carrying appropriations of $722,001,084. This sum is $579,339,231 below the figure for this year, and $66,928,435 under the President's budget request. A developing farm bloc in the Senate, determined to jack up the bill before it becomes a law, have indicated they do not expect the measure to get to the Senate floor for a long time, perhaps not before May. Certainly it will be after the public has forgotten more recent activities and discussions in connection with the farm law. Farmers, and therefore the country, so far have little reason to cheer the activities and discussions. The possible effect of the farm bill on agriculture has not seemed nearly so large a consideration as its effect on budget figures, and the effect of budget figures on top requirements, and the effect of taxes on votes. During the last day on the bill, the House agreed to cut out $25,000,000 for aid to tenant farmers. The longest and most emotional debate revolved around this "economy," but finally only 284 Representatives voted, out of a membership of 435. During the same session an amendment was proposed limiting soil conservation payments to $1,000 to any one person, the present limit being $10,000. This amendment was beaten 110-104, less than half the House voting. It is probable that we notice these two episodes particularly, because we dislike heartily the way the votes went. But that isn't the main thing. We would ask our Representatives please to take a little more interest in their work. When the bill comes back again from the Senate with all the cuts restored—as still seems most likely during an election year—we hope they will examine the various items closely, and first of all those items which subsidize big farmers and purely commercial farmers, and, for the opposite reason, items that help establish or secure family farm owners.

What's Half a Billion?

### *Housing for Private and Public Investment*

THE QUICK turn-over and quick profits that inspired the speculative development of many American cities account for the blight areas so characteristic of much of our urban scene. Workers with modest but steady incomes are unable to secure decent living quarters within their means. Savings banks and insurance companies, on the other hand, having had to foreclose on thousands of shoddy private dwellings, are looking for new fields for safe and profitable investment. It begins to look as if the two demands would coalesce. The gigantic Metropolitan Life Insurance Company with its 40,000-peopled "Parkchester" opening this spring is leading the van in new community and neighborhood construction, but various enterprises in Boston, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh and Washington have years of uninterrupted profits to show. These are economical, large-scale developments, built to last, with streets, parks, playgrounds, a whole neighborhood if not a larger community springing into being as a coordinated, well-designed whole. When built after consultation with industrial enterprises that will afford employment for the tenants and with the advice of government experts, these new communities will form an integral part of sound regional planning. The huge sums of capital they require means that highly centralized operating companies have been required for their success. The next step would be to organize such projects cooperatively, as might be done, for instance, with the employees of a certain plant as a nucleus.

The Need for New Communities

### *Laws and Men*

AFTER MANY WEEKS gathering testimony on the NLRB, the Smith Committee listened to a statement by boardchairman J. Warren Madden. He rested his defense of the board "on the record," and the record is certainly good. Indeed he pointed out that the record was the best of any similar federal body in the number of times the board's findings have been sustained by the courts. He pointed out that sheer facts are against the critics of the board. That the CIO has not been generally preferred over the AFL. That decisions have not been overwhelmingly against business and for labor. But he admitted that he had been "considerably disturbed" by some of the evidence produced against persons connected with the board. It is interesting that coincident with the hearings of the Smith Committee, a New York State legislative committee headed by a Republican issued its report on a state board which functions under an act essentially identical with the Wagner Act. This report makes suggestions for fresh legislation, with which the New York board concurs, but by and large it finds both act and board to have performed a valuable service to industrial peace. Its findings certainly gave no such chance to headline writers as have the hearings in Washington, where, for example, a case of understandable charity to a witness on the part of a board official could be made to seem like gross corruption. Chairman Madden's statement of the case, the report on the similar New York situation by the Ives Committee, the temperate testimony of such men as Lloyd K. Garrison all make one wonder whether the real trouble does not lie a little in an unhappy choice of personnel, a great deal in the opposition of those to whom the rights of labor are still anathema and of those who want to use unions to further their personal fortunes.

What Is Needed?

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### *Pressure Groups in Ferment*

OF THE TWO pressure-group developments of the week the dissolution of the American League for Peace and Democracy is the more startling. Founded in 1933 as the American League against War and Fascism, it succeeded, despite suspicions of communist domination that would not down, in enlisting thousands of American "liberals." The official explanation for breaking up was not particularly enlightening; it merely stressed the need of a new type of organization to preserve democratic rights in wartime and keep America out of war. The league will undoubtedly be revived under another innocuous name. The action of the American Civil Liberties Union, an organization with many accomplishments and potentialities for good, in barring communists, fascists and supporters of undemocratic régimes in other countries as officers, is more understandable. There is something commendable about requiring leaders, at least, to be consistent. This dissolution and legislation do reflect the popular discredit cast on the Stalinists since the Soviet-Nazi pact, the partition of Poland and the invasion of Finland. But as long as sharecropping and sweatshops, unemployment and racial discrimination and other social evils continue to be such important factors on the American scene, the proponents of the harshest utopias will have important followings. Red-baiting and opposition pressure groups only aggravate matters. A concerted attack on the undeniable causes of social unrest is the only way to take the starch, if not the honey, out of the propaganda of the totalitarians. But in all these things the positive aim of the common good should have first place.

Dissolution and Edict

### *Hannibal Crosses Mr. Farley*

A CONTROVERSY has risen in Congress, whence it will undoubtedly spread to cover the country, regarding the character of Mark Twain. The famous shaggy, white-tufted head, known wherever American letters are known, is to adorn one of the 1940 commemorative stamps, which it was planned to put on sale first in Hannibal, the Missouri town so intimately linked with the great man. When the Connecticut representative asked that Hartford, a place of later residence, be allowed to share the honor of launching the stamp, he must have been overwhelmed to have the Missouri representative assure him that the whole honor might go to Connecticut — Missouri wanted no part of its famous son, because as soon as the Civil War fighting began, he "started running and never stopped until he got to Keokuk, Iowa" (a statement in itself so reminiscent of Mark Twain's own locutions that we wonder the speaker wasn't struck dumb on the spot).

Mark Twain Stamp

No one can foresee, of course, how all this will end, and we do not hazard a guess. We do hazard the wish that Mark Twain himself were here to comment on it. But this time, unfortunately, the reports of his death are not exaggerated, and we are left to imagine with our own lame wits what caustic footnote he would have incorporated in the episode. It is true that his niece, in whom the family spirit burns undimmed by eighty-odd years, has come forward with the reminder that Missouri was a divided state and the reassurance that "Uncle Sam" was certainly no coward, but in sympathy with both sides; proving it with a very nice story about little boys with flags. Meanwhile, it should perhaps be kept in mind that the purpose was to honor Mark Twain the writer: a figure, with all its flaws, massive enough to support any number of stamp issues with ease. It is our hope that Representative Shannon does not speak for all of Missouri.

### *Owning a Home Is Hard*

THE Home Owners' Loan Corporation is currently selling about 4,000 homes a month. It sells them for an average book loss of $975 (in N. Y. $2,803). During its active period, the HOLC made over 1,000,000 loans to refinance dwellings throughout the nation, advancing more than $3,000,000,000. Around one-seventh of those properties have come back through failure of the mortgagee to keep up payments. During the depression the problem of home ownership and security was more complicated than simply a reasonable mortgage at a reasonable rate of interest. The properties depreciated about a thousand dollars more than the publicly supported HOLC was willing to admit and the individuals did not have the money income to keep up payments on vigorously reduced debts. The HOLC somewhat checked panic in the real estate market and saved many people much money, creditors and debtors both, but it was not useful in attacking the underlying problem of insecurity. It is interesting that New York was the worst place; the Empire State, that is, where business has developed farther than anywhere else. Through the nation, one out of every seven properties the HOLC lent upon has come back into its hands. In New York, out of 80,145 properties, 25,754 have fallen through. The trend has certainly been away from home security and the trend is strongest in New York. It is only reasonable to believe that one reason for this is the excessive value of concentrated city real estate, which pushes people into renting. People who want to own homes apparently should avoid standing on each other's shoulders.

New York Leads Down

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# The Army Rules the Reich

## If Hitler falls from power and the army takes over—what can we expect?

*By* **Albert Brandt**

GERMANY is a country where political crises take place under the egis of the army, just as in Japan the governments come and go under the authoritative gaze of the unblinking, unquestioned Mikado.

Since the close of the first World War the authority of the German army has been twice threatened: first, by the proletarian-republican elements and second by the National Socialists. It emerged from the first crisis stronger than ever. The second, after a few preliminary skirmishes, has been settled in favor of the army. With the second war of nations under way, the German Reichswehr—now "Die Deutsche Wehrmacht"—is probably the most portentous force in the European situation. On its decision, more than on Hitler's, hinges the urgent question of Germany's future course. Is the Reichswehr loyal to Hitler? Does it seek his overthrow? Will it maintain the Nazi-Soviet Pact? Will it continue the war in the west? These are some of the questions being asked. They are chiefly excited by the reports emanating from news sources in both warring and neutral countries. Headline tales of officers being court-martialed for plotting against the Fuehrer, generals being shot and imprisoned by the Gestapo and a tense struggle going on between "party men" on the one hand and all "regular officers" on the other seem to lend substance to the theory that profound differences exist today between the Nazis and the German army. But aside from the fact that much of this talk is simple propaganda, manufactured out of whole cloth, there is a fundamental misunderstanding involved. These observers write on the assumption that the basic objectives of the German army run counter to Nazi purposes. They are to a large extent misled by superficial appearances. The British particularly cannot reconcile the "officers and gentlemen" of the Reichswehr, brought up in the tradition of Prussian gallantry and military honor, with the radical excesses of the Nazi "rabble" spurred on by upstart commoners. But their mistake lies in their failure to examine the underlying substance of the Nazi program and its essential identity with the long-term requirements of the army. The Nazis have built a mass movement to support the military needs of: (1) a war industry and an unparalleled armament program, (2) a large, conscript army based on military hegemony and (3) a foreign policy of conquest and "revenge for Versailles" which the army has wanted since the end of the first World War. In exchange for this the army leadership is prepared to overlook the sundry atrocities for which the Nazis are responsible. In fact, the army has even learned to regard these "incidents" as inevitable in a program of militarizing politics, industry and German domestic life.

### *Relations complex*

Of course it would be possible to over-simplify the relations between the Nazi Party and the German army. Assuredly perfect harmony does not exist there any more than it does in other countries, totalitarian or democratic. (The replacement of Hore-Belisha in England receives parallel exaggeration in German circles just as the self-sought death of von Fritsch in Poland becomes an assassination by the Gestapo in the British press.) In the German army there still are elements of the "old school" whose conception of military power is based on ideas acquired in a previous generation. It is this handful of the old guard which seem to lend substance to the theory of the German army serving as a "conservative force." A survey of recent army history shows how tenuous is the claim.

The Versailles Treaty limited the German army to a professional long-service force of 100,000 troops. Ostensibly the German generals were bitter about this; secretly they were pleased. A "just" peace garnished with Wilsonian idealism would have permanently routed the German military and entrenched a republican Germany. A "shameful" peace meant that the army would soon return to power in order to retrieve German honor.

Assisted by the ineptitude and lack of audacity of the German Social Democrats and the indecisiveness of coalition governments the German army regained in a very short time its position. The Versailles treaty limiting of the German army to a long-term force of 100,000 men enabled the generals to accomplish the important task of rebuilding from the ground up on a modern basis. In this they had the support of the Russian Bolshevik government. The training of pilots and experimental work in aircraft and motorized infantry were conducted on Russian soil. Perhaps the most



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important consequence of the Rapallo Treaty between the two countries was that it helped strengthen the German army.

Both France after the revolution of 1789 and Russia after the revolution of 1918 disassembled their military machines to the last battalion and rebuilt them from the ground up as staunch supporters of the newly created régimes. The Bolshevik leaders well understood—in the words of Lenin—that "History causes the military problem to become the essence of the political problem." They succeeded because they did not permit a military force to exist which the Bolsheviks could not trust. In Germany the Social-Democrats never trusted their army but refused to face the implications involved in their lack of confidence. Instead of confronting the army leadership with the demand that the army be democratized and the men selected be loyal to the republic, the Social-Democrats permitted the whole framework of the Prussian military machine to continue. The generals were quick to profit from the situation. The 100,000 professional soldiers were recruited from "dependable" elements. Ironically enough, though ostensibly serving a republican régime under a social-democratic government, the army chiefs refused to open the army to social-democratic recruits. It was sufficient for a parent of a prospective soldier to be really sympathetic to the republic to cause, in most cases, his exclusion from the army.

*Government within a government*

Isolated and arrogant, led by officers who came from the powerful Junker families and industrial dynasties of Germany, the German army soon took on the exclusiveness of a secret organization divorced from the people. At a time when the German people were governed by a democratic régime this isolation helped raise army morale and prevented democratic "contamination." Today, in a militarized Germany, this isolation is no longer a necessity. Under the protecting wing of such an army a number of private military organizations sprang up, hostile to the republic and pledged to fight for a return to the "old days of German glory." When a few far-sighted republicans saw the danger and urged the formation of a republican guard to defend the republic, the army opposed its establishment. Fearing the penetration of democratic elements the army during the republican period ignored the issue of general conscription and built up for its purposes the theory of a small army being more effective than a large army. That this was only a blind is shown by the rapid swing of the army staff in favor of conscription as soon as the republic was overthrown.

Before Hitler, the social composition of the officer corps of the Reichswehr was estimated to consist 60 percent of personnel from Junker and powerful agrarian families and 25 percent from industrial and financial circles. The landed gentry of Pomerania, Silesia and Eastern Prussia—stamping grounds of the ultra-conservatives—were especially well represented. The so-called *Nord-West Gruppe* made up of the magnates of heavy industry, with its seat in Dusseldorf, has always had closest connection with the army. And German heavy *industry*—not necessarily any specific *industrialist*—has played a major rôle in directing foreign policy under the Kaiser, the republic and finally under the *Fuehrer*. The fact that an industrialist like Thyssen has fallen from Nazi grace marks the disappearance of the strong anti-Soviet heavy industry bloc which up to a year or two ago was still an important factor in Nazi councils.

The Reichswehr was the force that finally effected the Nazi-Soviet Pact. During the first years of Hitler's rule, the army was ordered to break off relations with the Russian military. The army ignored these demands and as a final gesture of contempt invited Russian army officers, during the heat of the Nazi propaganda, to observe maneuvers in Germany. Stalin, by the way, explained his execution of Tuhachevsky, Gamarnik and other high officers of the Red army in 1938 by citing the fact of cooperation with Nazi Germany. Relying on the illiteracy of the masses he sought to propagandize, Stalin's prosecutor, Vishinsky, "proved" that 250,000 gold marks were paid by the German army to Leon Trotsky and the Russian generals. What wasn't indicated was that this money was paid in the early twenties during the days of the Social-Democratic republic for service by the Bolsheviks rendered in training the Reichswehr and facilitating its upbuilding on Soviet soil. Erich Wollenberg, onetime commander of the Red Army, writes that "German officers carried on conspiratorial activities on Soviet territory continually from 1923 to 1930." Against the advices of his generals, Stalin persisted in continuing the secret treaty between the Reichswehr and the Red army even after Hitler came to power. The flying school maintained for German officers at Ljuberzi in Russia continued until 1935. It was Adolf Hitler who finally cancelled the treaty in 1935 only to resume it, in a somewhat more intimate way, in 1939.

In a sense, the Nazi-Soviet Pact of September, 1939, sealed the victory of the army over the party in Germany. But I must caution against interpreting this as signifying a battle won for specific army personalities. Indeed, the army leader General von Fritsch was among those who actively favored an agreement with Russia in the first years of the Nazi régime when Hitler vigorously opposed such an alliance; for his resistance to Hitler's measures, von Fritsch was eventually compelled to choose death in Poland. In Germany the army has never been exclusively identified with this or that per-

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sonality. Through the years it has existed as an ever-changing group which has nevertheless been anchored to certain traditions and purposes. The army leadership has generally meant that circle of high-ranking officers who knew best how to realize these purposes.

The Nazi party came into power not because the army feared a battle with the Nazis. The trained troops of the Reichswehr with its compact, efficient motorized equipment could have wiped out Hitler's untrained storm troopers in an open fight as easily as a small police force can stop an unarmed mob.

But the army knew that the group which seized power in violation of the Weimar constitution before Hitler—that circle of die-hard conservatives and old officers which based itself on the prestige of General von Hindenburg and the energy of Baron Franz von Papen and Lieutenant-General Kurt von Schleicher—could not achieve the objective of unifying Germany and militarizing the Reich. It lacked adequate popular support and subordinated military ends to conservative economics. For that reason the army did not move to protect that government after Hindenburg's "betrayal" in handing power to the Nazi Fuehrer. That the army, from the standpoint of its own interests, acted wisely is evidenced by the rocketing of the armament industry which started immediately after Hitler became Chancellor.

### *Mending fences*

But the Nazi Chancellor was astute enough to realize that what the army had done to previous governments it could do to his own. His early years as Chancellor were therefore occupied with "penetrating" the army. He avoided the showdown demanded by certain Nazi radicals such as Captain Roehm who apparently believed that his massed storm troopers could successfully throw down the gauntlet to the army. Hitler proceeded cautiously in seeking control of the army. His political training had taught him that the best way to undermine an opponent is to join forces with the opposition from within.

At that time the German army was chaffing under conservative policies of the old-line generals. The younger officers, united with several of the older men, were ready for action and wanted an enlargement of the army toward a war perspective. They favored all emphasis on militarizing the Reich, even at the cost of introducing "national Bolshevik" economic policies. To them the old army group led by Generals von Blomberg and von Fritsch represented a mossback tradition which would restrain the Reich from military action until it was too late. An early war, they were convinced, would have the best chance for victory and as far as they were individually concerned, would facilitate their careers. Hitler supported them in their determination to oust the conservative officers. It was at this point that the conservative officers recognized the danger to their authority in the Nazi bloc with the younger officers.

The Spanish Civil War tested the strength of the two groups. Von Fritsch bitterly opposed sending German troops to help Franco. He was not inspired with any love for the loyalist cause, but merely believed that the German army was not yet ready to put itself to the test and possibly involve itself in a nasty military situation. The younger officers, assisted by an influx of newly created Nazi officers, raised strenuous objections to the attitude expressed by Von Fritsch. They accused the older officers of refusing to allow the younger men to see war service in order to slow up promotions and keep power concentrated in the World War clique. Hitler deliberately nursed their grievances along to this crucial point. He had already decided that he would make use of the Spanish war to give Nazi junior officers war training and thus forestall the criticism of party domination when they should later be rapidly promoted to leading positions within the Reichswehr. To appreciate the subtlety of his strategy it is necessary to understand the overwhelming importance attached to actual war training in army promotions during peacetime. Where Hitler would not dare to shove forward Nazi functionaries to military posts, he had no fear of the army refusing to allow promotions of Nazis who had seen war service.

For a short time the two groups were at loggerheads. It is known that both von Fritsch and Hitler expected the other to attempt a putsch. Hitler barricaded himself in the chancellery and von Fritsch had his headquarters surrounded by dependable Reichswehr troops. The crisis came when Hitler ordered certain troops to ship for Spain. Fritsch frantically sounded out his junior officers for a test of strength with Hitler, but he failed to enlist their support. They chose the path of Hitler which meant a mass army and rapid promotions. The troops sailed to Franco and von Fritsch lost power in the army.

The success of the Nazi adventures in Spain, in occupying the Rhineland, in Austria, in Czechoslovakia enormously increased the prestige of Hitler in the army. At the same time the *Fuehrer* showed that he could be depended upon to play the army game unencumbered by the grosser baggage of Nazi ideology. He scrupulously refrained from imposing all the Nazi racial edicts on the armed forces. In Goering's air force high Jewish officers retained their positions and the official list of officers of the German Navy of 1938 includes such well-known non-Aryan names as Marx, Blumenthal, Rosenbaum, Levin, Weiss, Simon, Herzberg and Davidsohn. Of course not all the officers who bear these names are Jewish or even of recent Jewish descent, but few of them

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have an ancestry which would conform to the stringent demands of the Nuremberg laws. Similarly, Hitler has silenced those radical Nazis who called for redistribution of the large landed estates, because the army is inextricably interwoven with the powerful German landowners. In June, 1936, Dr. Ley, head of the German Labor Front, suddenly published a broadside attack directed against the 5,500 largest German landowners and the vast acreage controlled by the Church. Immediately there was an outcry from the army. Ley was reprimanded by Hitler and no more was heard of this "Agrarbolshewismus," as the army labeled it. Latterly, the Reichswehr has consented to the anti-Church land policy of the Nazis on the assurance that Hitler will not interfere with Junker tenure.

*Army no lover of democracy*

There is nothing in the past history or present need of the army which would make it a proponent of democracy. Even less of a liberal economy. General von Schleicher once remarked, "The Reichswehr does not exist for the purpose of guaranteeing outmoded concepts of property." Indeed, the army dreads democracy more than it does "national bolshevism." For a truly democratic Germany would mean a decline in the power of the military and an end to her aggressive ambitions while a state-*owned* industry under dictatorship could be as effectively utilized for military purposes as a state-*controlled* industry. A caste system, already existing, could be intensified and thus insure the perpetuation of power in the ruling military just as heredity ownership kept the Junkers dominant for generations. If it is necessary to make some overt socialistic gesture in order to quiet mass discontent, the Nazis will resort to outright "confiscation" and call it socialism. The army will approve this "socialism" because it will not infringe upon, might strengthen, its authority.

Nazi leaders, notably Goering, Hess and Ley, have already labeled the present war as a struggle between "German socialism and western capitalism." This demagogy is sanctioned by the army. Those who look toward the "conservatism" of the army to rebuild a new Germany after Hitler goes are due for a rude awakening. Neither patriarchal and limited democracy of the pre-World War variety, or old-style individual capitalism, or a pacific foreign policy—or other features of this hoped-for conservatism—can serve military purposes in the modern world. The German army can maintain authority only through dictatorship, regimentation of industry, foreign adventures. Its program must therefore coincide with the Nazi policy. It is quite willing to sacrifice a few formal "traditions" to attain supremacy; only if the Nazis finally prove incapable of assuring a mass base for a military program will the army move against Hitler. And then its purpose will be not to halt the Nazi revolution and return to the old days, but rather to continue the revolution more forcefully.

Shortly before the Franco-Prussian war of 1870, the French military attaché in Berlin reporting to his government wrote that "other countries possessed an army, but in Prussia the army possessed the country." Seventy years later that acute observation still retains its edge.

# *Penny Apostolate*

Selling the *Catholic Workers* on the street leads to a lot of experiences.

*By* Tim O'Brien

FOR WEEKS now I have been giving over my afternoons to selling papers on the street. My place of business is on Fourteenth Street in front of the Kitty Kelly shoe store. To the left of me is an army recruiting station, to the rear Union Square and to the right several large department stores. There are vendors of other periodicals usually lining the street on busy days. They sell the *Daily Worker, Socialist Appeal, New Masses, Social Justice,* the *Voice* and others having to do with Father Coughlin, the Christian Front and the Christian Mobilisers. I sell the *Catholic Worker.*

It took me a long time to get over an aversion to selling papers. Now it is an experience really worth looking forward to. The street crowds have a temperament like an individual. It seems there are good and bad days when the whole population gets out of the wrong or right side of the bed. I must expect days when everyone that comes along will give me words of encouragement and days when I must be the target for all kinds of epithets.

There are charges of "communist," "Jew-lover," "fake Catholic" and "enemy of Father Coughlin." Class conscious individuals have told

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me there should be no such thing as the *Catholic Worker,* as this is a division of the workers, "we must form a united front. When we are divided this way we play into the hands of the tory reactionaries." The phraseology is familiar to me and I expect this introduction to precede a sales talk on someone's pet political ideology. Many charges of communism have been narrowed down to two things. One is that "it must be communist. It has the word 'worker' on it." A narrower basis for the charge was that there was a Negro and a white man shaking hands pictured on the masthead of the paper.

From a brighter side come encouraging words from those who look for the defense of calumnied minorities. From a nearby high-school a friendly group comes daily to chat briefly about communism, the European war, education, unemployment, etc. A group of girls, department store employees, stop by to give their usual word of encouragement, pay for a few papers to be "passed on to someone." During lunch they argue over social questions of the day. The Jewish girl in the group insists on my getting some one up into her neighborhood to sell or distribute papers. Workers of all types stop by for brief moments and opinions are exchanged.

Advice is sought from me by many in regard to the formation of tolerance groups. (Since the outbreak of anti-Semitism in New York all kinds of units have been formed to conduct outdoor meetings counteracting anti-Semitic propaganda.) I am asked how one goes about getting speaking permits and where speakers and appropriate literature can be procured. Daily I receive leaflets announcing meetings sponsored by groups dedicated to preserving democracy, peace and community goodwill. Other fliers announce Communist and Socialist functions. There is no better way to find out just what is going on than to sell papers on Fourteenth Street. There is no better source of feeling out public opinion.

### *Reasons . . .*

It is interesting to note the reasons for which many people stop to purchase papers. Some buy a paper because they know what it represents and approve. Many buy because "it is good to see a Catholic in this hot bed of communism" (meaning Union Square.) Often they buy as a reaction to communist literature being sold elsewhere on the street. People waiting to keep appointments buy papers to fill in time. A common expression is "Well, you can't go wrong for a penny" or "Here, I just have an odd penny."

One realizes just how conscious the public is of the issue of anti-Semitism with so many questions in that direction. Here are typical questions: "Are you against the Jews?" "Is this for Father Coughlin?" "Do you fight anti-Semitism and fascism?" Jews who know us give an approving glance and an occasional "keep up the work." Not a few have refused the paper because of its attitude on the Jews. Even after buying it, many have returned to argue about "caring for our own kind first."

The current war issue causes all kinds of people to stop and get a viewpoint on neutrality. In my pockets I carry literature to give to those who cannot linger and talk. The literature deals with conditions for a just war, Catholic outlooks on conscription, ethics and the use of force and copies of Pope Benedict's prayer for peace which has been given away in large numbers. Being next to the recruiting sergeant and displaying the headline "FIGHT CONSCRIPTION" has a lot to do with creating this interest in and conversation about the Catholic attitude on war and peace. The attitude of the average man in the street anent war and neutrality is very depressing. Ever so many see the sale of arms as a means of recovery. The moral encroachment that is war is extremely obscured in the minds of many by everything from "Stop Hitler at any cost" to "Well, they didn't pay their debts. This time they can put their money on the line. We can use the dough and the jobs."

Left-wingers spend much time talking with me. For this I am glad enough. Sometimes I suspect the old technique of such a conversationalist as being a helper to someone selling the *Daily Worker* or *New Masses* up the street. Anyway, he leaves with the opinions I exchanged for his and some Catholic literature.

One very diligent comrade stopped for days to spend his lunch hour with me. He was typical of the obedient Stalinites trying to sell me the idea of "collective security." At great length, he put forth his argument for "stopping the aggressor nations," deploring the Anschluss and the Nazi conquest of democratic Czecho-Slovakia. He was for building the "democratic" front of Britain, France and Russia. His last visit was the day Russia absorbed part of Poland. We had our usual discussion. He was still adamant in his stand. In a half-hour he surprised me by returning, breathless and excited, with a pamphlet the ink of which was still wet. Just glancing at the title I could see the "party line" was changed and my good-natured and sincere friend was trying to undo his previous arguments and build up, obediently, the new one. He ejaculated: "What a day for the Polish workers and peasants!" Anway, the new "line" saved me a lot of talking.

The salesman for the Socialist *Appeal* (organ of the Socialist Workers Party) exchanges literature with me. With the élan of a true revolutionary he decries the war mongers, bankers and munitions makers. Lately, he has warmed to the Catholic stand on peace which is changing his de-

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sire for peace to a desire for love. He admits his former idea to be negative and only "against" certain elements. I hope, and pray, that the good streak in him that motivates his activity and zeal will soon be diverted into the proper channels. He was raised a Catholic.

Skeptics look long and hard at the paper in my hands. Then comes the inevitable "Isn't that communist?" Not a few have told me of the "dirty reds" who would use any means to get across their propaganda, even stooping to use the name "Catholic." A man came back three days after I gave him a paper and told me he was sorry that a good Catholic fellow like me was being duped by the reds. This meant turning the pages and discussing the articles in the paper, one by one. We talked for an hour and reached an understanding.

Midst all the noise of the street, comments of passerby can be heard. Some are in "stage whispers" really meant to be heard and others heard accidentally. Youngsters passing in a group take up the cry, "*Catholic Worker,* penny a copy" or "Down with everything!" I have heard remarks that for many indicate another "crackpot" is peddling papers. Some are annoyed at the noise. Some think an extra is being sold (I must here boast of my fast developing baritone). Passing mumblings have included "Dirty red," "Why don't they go to work for a living?" "I never heard of that one before," "That's a pretty good sheet," or "No, they ain't against the Jews."

One day four women were bunched near me hurling all kinds of accusations. Their leader approached me asking, "What kind of a Catholic do you think you are, selling that dirty rag?" (She's typical of a strange order of people these days.) I informed her I was a Roman Catholic the same as I thought she was. She turned to her colleagues, "See? I told you there was a catch. Did you get that Roman angle? I knew he wasn't a regular Catholic." Away they went, gibbering and shaking fists. Conversation is useless when confronting such an attitude. People of this type have often protested to police, demanding they remove "them reds."

The unreasonable ones, as just described, make it their purpose to heckle anyone selling literature that disagrees with their way of thinking. Their inquiry as to where they can get a certain publication is meant to provoke argument. Kindness and detailed instructions as to just where they can buy their favorite paper (and they usually know where) is startling to them. Charitableness is the best weapon to be used in cases of this kind and from many of these people I have since enjoyed return visits.

Another point of view, and not a pleasing one, is the reason some are glad to see a Catholic paper on the street. The attitude of many such people can be summed up in the remarks of one of them: "Here, I'll give you a dime. It's certainly good to see a Catholic selling papers. I know you're sincere or you wouldn't be putting this out for a penny. There's so many of them reds on the street. They even got the nerve to charge a dime for their lies. It don't look like America anymore. You'd think you was in Palestine." Such folk, if they can be delayed for a few minutes, are engaged in conversation and given a gift of two pamphlets on Jews, one by Father Joseph Moody and one by Father Daniel Lord, S.J. That these pamphlets have borne fruit has been indicated by return visits.

Conversation on the street leads to many things. Catholic workingmen seem to like the idea of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists and the workers' school conducted by them. Union men, Catholic and non-Catholic, linger over the discussion of the papal encyclicals on labor. Sources of information and recommended reading are given them. Unemployed workers come along and discuss their problems. They ask for our opinion on the WPA layoffs, relief, etc., and tell of certain conditions that should be "written up" in the paper. Many Jewish friends stop and talk about Catholic-Jewish relations. Occasionally, several people gather around and, out of deference to the law, the police ask us to move along. On two occasions these group discussions have been transferred to restaurants and hashed out over cups of coffee.

Paper sales may number ten in a whole afternoon and again they may number over one hundred. The number of sales depends on the collective temperament of the public or the number of discussions. There are dull days (but they are exceptional) when no one stops to buy papers or to talk. Crowds hurry to the different department stores and on such days, whatever the cause, are completely oblivious to any paper hawkers. This was noticeable the first two or three chilly days in September. Pleasant days, it seems, when people are strolling leisurely, are naturally best selling days. Damp, chilly days, somehow, bring out the snapping, biting kind of people.

On Fourteenth Street, as on Forty-second Street, the saying, "competition is the life of trade," seems to hold good. The high-pitched propaganda war is an interesting sight and stimulates interest and sales. Salesmen (and women), especially on Saturdays, line the street as close together as the police will permit and try to shout one another down. Above the chowd can be heard a shrieky "Get the latest issue of the *Voice,* five a copy!" A female voice renders the repetitious strain, "Father Coughlin's *Social Justice,* Father Coughlin's *Social Justice.*" The *New Masses* salesman has a long, complicated sales-talk and I catch such phrases as the "Munichmen," "Chamberlain's gang" and "Workers' Red Army." Some-

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one else is yelling and selling "The Truth about Father Coughlin." Then are several exposés of the Christian Front or the German-American Bund. Public interest is awakened during these hectic periods. People congregate in small groups to discuss current issues and many publications are sold.

On a Saturday afternoon, a hectic one, a lady told me she had been watching me for half an hour. She noticed (she said) that every purchaser of my paper was a Jew. Previous to watching me she checked up on the *Voice* vendor and found the Jews enthusiastically supported it. This, to her, was definite proof that the *Catholic Worker* and the *Voice* were financed by Jewish Communists. My conversation with her was under way only a couple of minutes when a Jewish man stopped to buy a paper as did a woman who, as we learned, was Catholic. The three of us went into a discussion and we were joined by a young fellow having aspirations to the priesthood. There was much clarification. The future priest contributed greatly and all went away pleased and strengthened.

This street work, this close contact with the trend of thinking of the average people in the street, discloses many odd points of view, often and unfortunately, unpleasant ones. The refreshing periods are furnished by talks with sympathizers and the return visits of those who gained something from the talks and literature. There's never a dull moment. There's much work to be done. The shuffle of feet, the noisy traffic of trucks, competitive vendors, such hopeless attitudes, my throat feels tough—well, I don't know. Guess I'll get nearer the recruiting man—no, maybe I'll catch the curious people glancing at the headlines on the newsstand. Anyway, here goes for another day and let's see what happens. So (and a little louder), "*CATHOLIC WORKER*, PENNY A COPY."

# Higher Income Taxes

By E. L. MUNZER

*The following article was written in June, 1939. State and federal tax plans now receiving legislative consideration make Mr. Munzer's article even more timely now than it was when he wrote it; his absence abroad makes it impossible for him to bring his article rigorously up to date.*—The Editors.

MR. MORGENTHAU, Secretary of the Treasury, declared before the House Ways and Means Committee on May 27, 1939, that "it would be fair and logical to re-examine the question of whether the present surtax rates on very large incomes may not be so high that they discourage the limited number of individuals subject to them from taking normal business risks." And later on, Mr. Morgenthau declared himself in favor of increasing "the part played by direct taxes that can be made to take account of differences in the abilities of individuals to support the Government."

Various institutions and many individuals have preceded Mr. Morgenthau in these suggestions, and the more closely they are associated with those who are interested in a lowering of the income tax and particularly the surtax, the more vociferous and less logical their proposals have been. This applies especially to the recent utterances of the Brookings Institution.

Since the introduction of direct levies of some magnitude in Great Britain and various small countries on the Continent, the policy of heavy direct taxation, through income tax, surtax and death duties for physical persons and corporation taxes for business combines and juristic persons, has been restrained by a somewhat mystic fear of encroaching on savings and active investment. As a state's witness for this attitude Ricardo could be adduced; he points out ("Principles," Chapter VIII) that "there are no taxes which have not a tendency to lessen the power to accumulate."

All this reasoning, particularly Ricardo's remark, is valid only for *conditions of full employment,* and so long as the American and many other economic systems are far from this state, the argument falls to the ground. When large and lasting unemployment prevails, the propensity to consume is highly elastic and consumption remains capable of being considerably expanded. Under present conditions, therefore, *large-scale measures for the redistribution of incomes by direct taxation of high incomes are likely to raise the propensity to consume and will prove favorable to the growth of capital.*

The only efficient incentive to enterprise and to capital outlay is the actual growth of *consumption.* As soon as the propensity to consume increases, the activities of all industries producing consumable commodities are revived, large stocks of unsold goods accumulated during depression are drawn upon, orders are given cumulatively to replenish depleted stocks and the revival quickly spreads to the producers of capital and instrumental goods (buildings, machines, tools) because the increased consumers' demand stimulates capital outlay in the earlier stages of production and distribution. This stimulus to capitalistic industry proper is a secondary or tertiary effect; it depends on consumption pure and simple. No businessman will be induced by a low rate of interest to enlarge his factory unless his order books are filled, and no order book can be filled without a preceding increase in consumption.

Consumption, it is true, can be stimulated in two basically different ways: by heavy direct taxation

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which compulsorily breaks up large incomes into a multitude of small incomes, and by Government borrowing. The Government either can choose between these two devices or it can continue both. The US Government has so far chosen the second alternative; so long as capitalistic profits are, as is now the case, only fractionally devoted to active investment, it would be impractical to concentrate on borrowing. For that would mean a further accumulation of idle balances on the side of entrepreneurs, increased buying of Government securities by the banks which have no other outlet for the swelling idle balances, and finally a complete glut of capital and a corresponding deadlock of enterprise.

The present heavy taxation of high incomes is consequently the only efficient way to direct at least a fraction of the accumulated idle balances into the channels of consumption which are the only imaginable sources of irrigation for an economic system.

In a period of heavy unemployment no other scheme can be favored than that of *considerable direct taxation for the express purpose of diminishing the proportion of the national income applied to saving.* Nothing else but this very scheme is capable of diminishing the proportion of saving to consumption, and only under this scheme can full employment be attained with a smaller volume of active capital outlay (investment). The burden of our time is that too much is saved; and when, after an interval, the accumulation of unused savings in stocks of unsold commodities slows down by necessity, the vicious circle of deflation sets in, and the national income adapts itself to the rapidly decreasing level of active investment. Every dollar added to the already appallingly large idle balances throws people out of employment, owing to the curtailment of secondary and tertiary effects of employment; and every dollar withdrawn from idle balance by taxation creates employment when it finds its way into the broad channels of consumption. If it is saved again, it enlarges, under present unemployment, idle balances, but the probability that poor workers and beneficiaries of social legislation will accumulate idle balances is zero, compared to the similar probability with high income earners.

### *Obtaining full employment*

Full employment can be attained by a combination of heavy direct taxation and Government borrowing, then, *only by restricting the accumulation of capital.* And that generates, so long as depression prevails, no economic disequilibrium. Depression is characterized by an abundance of invested capital; the total industrial capacity of the US is operating at present at about 70 percent, and consumers' demand could increase by at last 20 to 25 percent without necessitating any corresponding expansion of capital outlay. The saving remaining after the deduction of increased taxation could be devoted to the "deepening" of capital, an improvement on capital equipment which leads to an increased use of machines, tools, etc., per unit of production. The policy of cheap money promotes this tendency, and present idle balances are so large that even a heavy continual drain of taxation would be incapable of melting them down to a level where the rate of interest is likely to increase to an extent which endangers the "deepening" of capital or the improvement of capital plant.

And since, therefore, the very low rate of interest now prevailing can be maintained even during a long period of considerable direct taxation, the inducement to invest, which again will become necessary with the approach to full employment, is not likely in any way to be curtailed. It is investment, as we have seen, which determines saving and the contraction and expansion of national income, and, therefore, contrary to the incorrect economic notions of the Brookings Institution and similar interested bodies, a high rate of interest is never needed as an inducement to save. On the contrary, the possible scale of investment is broadened by a low rate of interest; the rate of interest should be reduced to, or kept at, a point where full employment is reached. And the main task of Government, when imposing high, direct taxation, is tenaciously to pursue a policy of cheap money and not to let the occasional frictions arising from heavy taxation interfere with this. That is the only condition upon which the final success of high income and estate taxes depends.

As soon as full employment is reached, redistribution of incomes by high direct taxation becomes superfluous since then even the previously unemployed enjoy incomes which render consumption rather inelastic. Incentives to consumption are no longer necessary, and direct taxation loses its purely distributive effect. But then its other function grows, particularly if the vicious circle of inflation has set in; the function of reducing the public indebtedness incurred during depression and of absorbing cash; a useful function also, provided that there is no danger of thereby precipitating the recurrence of the vicious circle of deflation.

To sum up: high income taxes not only do not check investment, but promote it by stimulating consumption, so long as consumption is still elastic or, which amounts to the same thing, full employment is not yet attained.

## *Candidate*

Low Sunday morn, the cherry now
Has doffed her Easter-white attire
And donned green hope that every bough
Will hang with Pentecostal fire.

FRAY ANGELICO CHAVEZ.

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# Views & Reviews

BY MICHAEL WILLIAMS

IF I RETURN to a disagreeable subject, already treated in this column, suggested by "The Convent," the supposedly autobiographical account by Alyse Simpson of two years of experience as a novice in a Swiss-German convent, it is certainly not because of the value of the book as literature or truth, but in order that its treatment by the critics of the secular press—so far as I have been able to observe it—may be useful in showing Catholics what a monumental mass of ignorance and prejudice exists even in otherwise well educated and tolerant and liberal secular circles with regard to the life and the motives animating those leading the life followed by the nuns of the Catholic Church. And it is very important that Catholics should realize the enormous, clogging, dragging weight of this stupendous ignorance and the distorting influence of its accompanying atmosphere of queasy, vulgar prejudice surrounding this subject, not merely in the lower circles of Ku Klux Klan adherents and sympathizers, but in the upper circles of our modern intellectuals. This dark ignorance and miasmatic, unreasonable prejudice, existing in lands and nations boasting of their enlightenment, is almost as perilous to Catholic culture and true civilization in general as the atheist hatred of Soviet Russia or the racial paganism of the Nazis.

In Sunday's New York *Times* book review and the New York *Herald Tribune's* literary supplement, *Books,* and again in today's New York *Herald Tribune* (February 5), in "Books and Things," written by Rose Feld, the tawdry, malicious, meretricious and essentially false picture of modern convent life presented by Alyse Simpson is most highly praised. In the *Times,* by Edith H. Walton; in the *Books* section of the *Herald Tribune* by Mary Ross. When these writers belaud the literary merits of the book, I simply gasp in wonder, but refrain from offering any objection. The canons of literary judgment seem today to be so strictly subjective and personal that common grounds for argument generally do not exist. But this book is offered as fact, not fiction, and even if its literary skill merited the encomiums lavished upon it by the three skilful and well known reviewers named above, all three convict themselves of lamentable ignorance about the subject matter of the book, which is what counts in this matter, as the book is offered primarily as a record, not as fiction. Edith H. Walton dimly recognizes her incapacity. "As a reviewer," she writes, "I feel a certain extra-literary hesitancy in approaching a book such as this—partly because I lack background for judging the accuracy of its facts, partly because it treads, obviously, on so many toes." She is right about lacking background for judging the all-important point, the accuracy of the book. Why, then, consent to review it and to praise it so highly?

The dense, invincible ignorance on the subject of monasticism displayed by the author of the book itself should have been obvious to well-read reviewers of general literature, even if they were utterly devoid of personal knowledge of convent life. For example—one among many stupidities offered by the writer of the "The Convent"—she quotes the mother superior as saying to her: "Everyone knows that women have not got it in them to become mystics." Alyse Simpson, possibly, may think like that; but what monumental ignorance! Well, when the high literature of the whole world is literally blazing with the stellar names of a veritable host of women mystics and poets and psychologists—such as Saints Teresa, Gertrude, Brigid, Catherine of Siena and Catherine of Genoa, Angela of Foligno, Juliana of Norwich, Joan of Arc, Bernadette of Lourdes, and hundreds of others, representing a score of nations and many, many centuries of Church and world history (both of which latter subjects have been profoundly influenced by the spiritual, intellectual, moral and humanitarian labors of hundreds of nuns who were great mystics); and when, in addition to what has been added to mankind's spiritual and intellectual heritage by the women mystics of the Church, we barely glance at the prodigious labors of charity and solace of innumerable generations of Catholic nuns, all a matter of record, existing all round us today as ever, more and more the wonder grows that such a book as "The Convent" could be treated seriously by responsible publishers, our best secular newspapers and supposedly educated reviewers.

Well, our nuns will carry on, as usual. Even as I was musing, with some disturbance of mind, I must admit, over these shallow, ignorant reviews of a shallow, ignorant book—but a poisonous one, because ignorance and prejudice are highly contagious mental and spiritual poisons, as the sad state of the whole world testifies so appallingly—a telegram came announcing the death of a nun, a mother superior, too, whom I happened to know rather well.

For some fifty years or more her life had been passed in a convent far stricter in its observance than the fantastic, incredible convent travestied in the book under consideration. The daughter of one of New England's most distinguished Puritan families (like Rose Hawthorne, whose noble life closed in New York, under observation of its great newspapers, not long ago), herself a distinguished musician and poet: highly cultured, strong of body, mind and spirit, she, too, like the poor neurotic soul who tried to run away from life in the pages of this deplorable book, entered a convent—but not to run away from life, to find it and serve it and enrich it and strengthen it. Member of an order whose chief task it is to generate and direct spiritual power through prayer in the service of the Church, especially in aiding and strengthening its clergy, she founded two convents in California, known as gems of artistic beauty to casual travelers and known as power houses of spiritual, intellectual and moral help for others. Missionary bishops and priests and brothers and sisters all over the world, in leper asylums and jungle hospitals and schools, turned to her and her sisters not only for their prayers, but their letters and counsel and the example of their lives, not of neurotic yearning after purely personal, human "peace" and "safety," but of unremitting, real service of others before themselves—of the love of God through practical love of God's children, their neighbors, inside and especially outside the

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walls of the Church. From that quiet convent in Santa Clara valley—as from thousands of other convents all over the world (until such convents are burned and bombed by critics who use explosives more violent than ignorant and prejudiced words, yet who have been incited to use their bombs by precisely such poisonous words), from that quiet convent, there radiated throughout the Church and the world which the Church exists to serve unceasing currents of pulsating life and truth and love.

Mother Augustine of Santa Clara, of the Carmelite Order, has now left her convent, but, as still another nun writes of her: "Really, she is more present to us now than she has ever been before and her power to raise up, enlighten and strengthen us will be greater."

Perhaps, then, it is best to commend the writer and the laudatory reviewers of such a destructive book as "The Convent" to Mother Augustine and her sisters, both beyond and still within the real convents of this world, that they may be enlightened and instructed, or at least inclined to be a little bit fair and honest, when they write and talk about convent life. Prayer, certainly, must be needed greatly, when in such a city as New York, where Mother Cabrini and Mother Alphonsa (Rose Hawthorne Parsons) are only two, and very recent, public manifestations of what convent life really means to its inmates, and where convent life, in all its many-sided beneficence and beauty, from the cloistered houses of contemplative prayer through colleges and schools and hospitals and asylums to the begging for the poor of their Little Sisters—is, one would think, an open book. But none are so blind as those who will not see; so, Mother Augustine, pray for them; but meanwhile we must ask others to please to be reasonable enough to make themselves acquainted with their subjects when they write about the Church, or review the books supposed to deal, truthfully, about any of its many departments of work and life. And it might be worth while to point out, for those who wish to be fair, that great secular newspapers are not acting with conspicuous fairness when they place books alleged to be records of fact about the Catholic Church exclusively in the hands of writers lacking knowledge of the subject treated in such books.

# Communications

## OUR COUSINS(?) THE BRITISH

Athens, O.

TO the Editors: In the course of Professor Bell's excellent defense of Britain (January 19) he observes that "whatever the origins of the Commonwealth, the picture of a now crouching and gorged lion will not do." Does such a picture ever "do" for any nation? The fact that historians who deal with mass causes and effects are prone to refer to states as substantial self-moving entities does not give credence to the notion so widely exploited lately by the totalitarian governments that the state is a sort of super-individuality. England is no ten-century Leviathan to be punished for past wrongs, as Hitler for example seems to think; not His Majesty's Government nor any other form of human rule is to be held organismic either within or without its boundaries. And I should like to say for myself that I do not see Britain as a lion or as John Bull either.

Professor Bell states that "the striking thing about the 'Empire' is that few if any of the units of which it is composed would dream of leaving it." I wonder how many of the Commonweal's readers saw Maurice Walsh's eloquent indictment of "the sceptered isle" in the *Saturday Evening Post* for January 13? Mr. Walsh quotes a saying popular among Irish statesmen when they come around the council table with English representatives: "When you meet British diplomats, lift the green cloth to see the cloven hoof. If you see it, carry on. The devil is a straightforward sort of gentleman as compared with British diplomacy; you have some hope of seeing what he is driving at; be of good heart. But if you see no cloven hoof, then throw up your hands and surrender. The game is as good as up." As the Irish-patriot author points out, his countrymen have had hundreds of years' experience with British diplomacy and this is their idea of it.

The Irish quip does not, of course, tell the whole story. Those diplomats however sadly mistrusted by the sons of Eire are only muddling through in approved British governmental fashion to some compromise that will, at all costs, secure the British hegemony in Europe. They are being "patriotic." But as Edith Cavell said, "Patriotism is not enough; we must have no hatred for anyone." This is not an impossible ideal—it is the very essence of the democratic faith. "Those who are not, like the brutes that perish," wrote Margaret Fuller a century ago, "content with enjoyment of mere national advantages, indifferent to the idea they represent, cannot forget that the human family is one, and beats with one great heart."

But the Englishmen as well as their foes, the Germans, now going down to the sea in ships to death are victims like their predecessors who did not recognize their dynast rulers for what they are. It is doubtful indeed if England could have made the Empire without the sops thrown to decency from time to time that Professor Bell mentions as items on the British credit side.

M. Whitcomb Hess.

Middletown, Conn.

TO the Editors: My friend, Canon Bell, and I have enjoyed many a tussle in the past; but I doubt whether we can have one of a sort to interest your readers on the grounds raised by his letter in your issue of February 2. Whether I "whitewash" Britain's record in imperial affairs as regards even the most recent times, I am quite willing to leave to anyone who cares to read my article. The "yarn about Elizabethan brigands" (a hideous tale) is as well established as anything in Tudor history, and is fully documented in Professor E. P. Cheyney's unmatched treatment of "good" Queen Bess's later reign. If Canon Bell can find anything comparable in the recent history of Palestine he will be making a real discovery. I cannot take his letter further in detail without using too much space; but I should like to add one thing. Thanks to my carelessness in phrasing, it was possible to infer

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from my article that I believe Great Britain to be fighting in defense of Christianity; whereas my intention had been merely to underscore the fact that her defeat could result only in more of such pagan assaults on Christianity and Christian ethics as are proceeding at this moment in Poland. What the term "propaganda" means nowadays I am not sure; but I am certain that Canon Bell, being a friend of mine, gives me credit for writing only what I believe.

The letter from Mrs. Hess shows that she and I agree as regards the state, and differ only with respect to perspective and interpretation. I feel, for instance, that Mr. de Valera is much better fitted to represent contemporary Eire than Mr. Maurice Walsh. Again, from what I know of English history I should say that Britain has had no hegemony in Europe since the middle of the last century, no "dynast rulers" since Gladstone's time at least. And what Mrs. Hess regards as "sops thrown to decency" appear to me as the more stable elements in that mixed diet of wholesome and unwholesome foods on which the English-speaking world has managed to lead a rather healthy life. Probably no one of us looks through a perfect pair of spectacles.

H. C. F. Bell.

## BOLSHEVIST PERSECUTION MARCHES WEST

Milwaukee, Wisc.

To the Editors: In the December 15, 1939, issue of The Commonweal, an anonymous White-Russian Catholic priest makes this statement: "The only Polish Catholics living here [Eastern Poland] were the big landowners, the clergy, the teaching personnel, countless officials, the Polish legionnaires and soldiers endowed with White-Russian lands by Pilsudski's government in reward for their services *pro patria,* the heavy police forces, the unmerciful tax collectors, especially of the arrears of taxes. . . ."

Reading these words one is led to believe that there were no White-Russian "big landowners, clergy, teaching personnel," etc., which, of course, is not true. Each province in Poland had its "samorzad" or self-government chosen by its own people with representation in Warsaw—very much as do our own States in Washington. Only in the event of an emergency (as, for instance, the lack of a capable candidate for a given position) did one province furnish officials to another. Almost all the big landowners, clergy, teachers, officials, etc., were natives of the region and yet very good Polish citizens because they (or their forebears) were not forced but voluntarily became assimilated decades or centuries ago.

For this reason the White-Russians call themselves Poles, as the anonymous author of the letter himself concedes, not solely for their "Polish religion" which they preferred together with the superior Western civilization of the Poles. Another reason, however, was the almost identical dialect and Slavic psychology of both peoples.

As for the "Orthodox brethren," they dislike the Catholic faith regardless of whether it happens to be either Latin or Uniat Rite not because it is the Polish faith, but rather because it is the Roman faith. Were the Poles not Roman Catholic but Orthodox Catholics they undoubtedly would enjoy the same Russian sympathy as the Bulgarians and the Serbs. Moreover, if the Orthodox Catholics who are Russians consider this "relentless opposition and fervent detestation" their duty, they could simply and easily leave the land of an ungrateful faith and go back to Russia where they came from, for neither the Latin nor the Uniat will change faith just to please them. . . .

Noble indeed is the desire to "be purified and regenerated in the sea of sufferings and persecutions," provided the subject of such an heroic sentiment and the object of the purification converge in one person. Numberless are the *patientes propter justitiam* within the Church's bosom —known and unknown. But to send others to that bath (be they kinsmen or countrymen) does not seem either commendable or customary in the Church.

Are the White-Russian Poles "aliens" in their own country? An admirable fiction à la Goebbels indeed! The Russians left our Eastern provinces long ago, the Bolsheviks will leave it tomorrow. . . .

Yes, of course, we may "extend a friendly hand to our Orthodox brethren" but let them first go home where they belong, then let them before all find the natural reason which is a prerequisite to the true faith, and then let us first strengthen our own faith, repeating *et ne nos inducas in tentationem* and forsaking all brotherly hatred, even though this brother be a White Russian Pole. . . .

Rev. Francis Wegier.

## MAMBA'S GRANDDAUGHTERS

Columbus, O.

To the Editors: Father Gillard, in his article, "Mamba's Granddaughters," in The Commonweal for January 5, makes the following statement: "The old slave system of the Southland snatched the Negro's ancestors from the African forests only two centuries ago. . . ." This statement as it stands implies something which is historically untrue. The slave trade in the English Colonies was very largely of New England origin. New England sea captains transported Negroes from Africa, and used them as seamen and workers in New England. It is historically true that three times Massachusetts sent embassies to the Commonwealth of Virginia, asking Virginia to take its Negroes, who could not stand the Northern climate; and three times Virginia refused to accept these people as slaves. It is also true that the first slave market and whipping post in the English Colonies was in Boston, where now stands Faneuil Hall.

My family, as southern Catholics, always tried to provide the Sacraments and proper religious instruction for its colored people. Of course, there were relatively few Catholics in the South, and hence most of the Negroes adopted the religion of their non-Catholic owners. My mother sold her jewelry to get money to feed her Negroes. She once talked to Mr. Lincoln on the subject of emancipation, and he told her that he did not approve of immediate emancipation, as effected by him, but felt that freedom should come slowly and through merit. I feel strongly that much that is incorrect and prejudiced has got into our history books concerning the whole question of the Negro in the South prior to the Civil War.

Irene Johnson Bolling.

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# The Stage & Screen

## *John Barrymore*

JOHN BARRYMORE was once America's most stimulating actor, perhaps the only one of his time who was touched with the wand of genius. In "My Dear Children" there are moments of the old fire, when from a word, a phrase, there shoots something which shows what the theatre can become when a great actor treads the boards. This is just what Barrymore does—he treads the boards—though, alas, most of the treading now is burlesque, caricature and farce. Through three acts of a very poor play, made intolerably long by the slowness of the star, Barrymore burlesques and caricatures himself and with himself the grand manner. Yet there are moments, as in the Hamlet soliloquy and in the short scene from "King Lear," when the actor's genius flames out and an electric shock runs through the house. These moments are what make the rest of the proceedings so inutterably tragic. Here is a great actor, or rather an actor who still could be great did he not prefer to spit in the face of art. It is only too sadly true that the huge houses which greet him are there expecting to see the clown. It would not be so sad perhaps if we could be sure that under the motley lay a breaking heart. Ably supported by such sterling players as Arnold Korff, Lois Hall, Leo Chalzel, Roland Hogue and Kenneth Treseder, John Barrymore goes his wilful, contemptuous way. We who have loved his acting in the days of his Hamlet and his Richard must forgive him because of the memory of those long vanished days of his youth and of ours. *(At the Belasco Theatre.)*

## *Geneva*

IT WOULD be useless to denominate "Geneva" a play, but it is an interesting, at times an exhilarating, discussion, the best discussion that George Bernard Shaw has furnished us with for several years. It has for a skeleton the summoning of three dictators and the British Foreign Minister before the League of Nations to answer charges brought against them. The dictators are named Battler, Bombardone, and General Flanco de Fortinbras, and oddly enough they consent to come and to be riddled with Shavian talk. The one who comes off best is General Flanco, though even he is none too kindly treated. Battler is Hitler, and at the end is deserted by his two fellow dictators, and presented by his own servant with a skull. The real victor in the battle of wits is Sir Orpheus Midlander, the British foreign secretary, a beautifully Shavian portrait of British aristocratic compromise and common-sense, magnificently played by Lawrence Hanray. Also admirable are Maurice Colbourne as Battler, Ernest Borrow as Bombardone, John Turnbull as Flanco, Barry Jones as the Judge, Norah Howard as Begonia Brown, Jessica Tandy as a Deaconess, Susan Turner as the widow of a Central American president, and Harvey Braban as a labor leader. And what a relief it is to attend a performance in which every word uttered by the players is crystal clear! "Geneva" makes an interesting evening, and proves that G. B. S., despite his eighty-two years, is still very much alive. *(At Henry Miller's Theatre.)*

GRENVILLE VERNON.

## *"Faith That Right Makes Might"*

IT IS PARADOXICAL that the most exciting scene in a first rate picture should show merely a debate. The scene in *"Abe Lincoln in Illinois"* is the Lincoln-Douglas debate, culminating in the stirring "House-Divided" speech with Lincoln's own words of approval for our system in which men have a right to strike and the power to change their government, and his words of hatred for race and class discrimination and for indifference to evil. Through intelligent direction of shots and the moving camera, John Cromwell has instilled action in this as in the other scenes throughout Robert E. Sherwood's intensely sincere though rather formless screenplay based on his Pulitzer Prize play. Any picture about a great man around whom exists an emotional aura depends on how much we bring to that picture. Raymond Massey, who looks the part, succeeds in portraying Lincoln as a real and complicated man, not simply an uncouth, joke-loving backwoodsman, not a homespun legend. His strange foreboding fear of a future doom, his hatred of politicians and Mary Todd's ambitions, his straddling the fence because he was opposed to slavery but more opposed to trouble, his love for people make him human. Massey's performance in this difficult rôle is superb. Mary Howard's Ann Rutledge is prettiness in nicely washed dresses while Ruth Gordon's Mary Todd is solid strength. Her sincerity as the scheming woman whose perseverence never allows Lincoln to delay on his destined path prevails over her high-pitched, strained voice.

This week's other offerings fail to meet expectations. *"Swiss Family Robinson"* has good movie material in its interesting story about the family who learn for the first time how to live, work, care for themselves, build a house and their characters on a deserted island. But the Wyss novel demands a simplicity not found in this Gene Towne-Graham Baker production. The shipwreck and storm scenes are done well, but stage sets, the script's straining to drag in timely references and artificial acting destroy the illusion.

*"Geronimo"* misses the dramatic possibilities of one Indian against a nation and the opportunity to give us an outstanding historical film about the Apache chief. It stumbles over its own clichés—"Only good Indian is a dead Indian," "We must die like soldiers," etc., and the unconvincing, sentimentalized story about the general conducting the campaign during the seventies who refuses fatherly recognition of his lieutenant-son. Best scenes show Gene Lockhart cowering before Geronimo while thousands of Injuns tangle with soldiers.

Superficiality in *"Little Old New York"* wins out over whatever serious historical aspects this film may pretend to have. Fulton's Folly could of course be treated with a light touch in the movies, but next time let's have this story dished up without coy giddiness.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

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# Books of the Week

## America in Chancelleries

*A Diplomatic History of the American People. Thomas A. Bailey. Crofts.* $6.00.

HERE is a piece of scholarship that commands not merely admiration but intense respect. Because this is true the book will hold a very special place in our historical literature.

From our colonial backgrounds to Mr. Roosevelt, our diplomatic adventures are handled with expertness. The judgments are sure and the evidence for them is always given to us. Books, monographs, periodicals, papers, cartoons and even verse and song furbish the narrative at every point. For this is the work of an authority.

Always the book is absorbing, often fascinating and amusing. For the fact is that Professor Bailey has written a book to be read. He knows how to write and has escaped—as Dixon Ryan Fox has pointed out—from "the lenient literary standards of university faculties."

It is Professor Bailey's belief that many of our fundamental foreign policies were long ago foreshadowed. To him it is clear, for instance, that "colonial experience convinced the leaders of the United States that it was decidedly to the advantage of the new nation to stay on its own side of the water and keep free from outside entanglements." He sees our diplomatic gains, in part, conditioned by geography and by recurrent European distress.

But the many factors that shape our foreign policies are not here neglected. It is my own opinion, however, that the economic impulses are at times made subordinate to other things.

It is not, however, that he is unaware of economic impulses. For him our diplomacy is largely responsive to public opinion. In fact he writes: "The American people, exercising their democratic privilege and enjoying freedom of speech and press, have shaped their own foreign policies. Although the Department of State has given direction to these policies, it has never dared to deviate far from the wishes of the nation in major decisions."

As a result some of his conclusions will be new to many. The judgment on McKinley will be new to those whose knowledge of the Spanish-American war has filtered through to them from Walter Millis or the Beards. In all likelihood Professor Bailey has made the beginning of a revaluation of McKinley. The material on our entrance into the World War will be new to those who are unfamiliar with Tansill's definitive "America Goes to War."

Incidentally—given Professor Bailey's emphasis—his chapter on Wilson's fight for the Treaty of Versailles is a bit confusing. For here time, strategy and political manipulation made public opinion a result and not a cause. However, Professor Bailey has given us a documented and patiently worked out chapter in the history of political partisanship. It is a striking example of how public opinion is made. And that is why—among other reasons—the author has written this book: it is a contribution to education to the end that—as Elihu Root wrote—"The people themselves will have the means to test misinformation and appeals to prejudice and passion based upon error." No preaching about propaganda will do that. For only people are politically intelligent who have learned history. The way is not easy, but there is no other way.

FRANCIS DOWNING.

BIOGRAPHY

*Heroines of Christ. Edited by Joseph Husslein, S.J. Bruce.* $2.00.

"HEROINES OF CHRIST" is a collection of biographical sketches of fifteen women of varied temperaments, times and environments. Sanctity is their common denominator. Many of them have been beatified, a number of them have been canonized and all of them evidenced heroic virtue. Several of them suffered martyrdom. In this group are Lucy, Cecelia and Agnes, whose names are inscribed in the Canon of the Mass in the commemoration of the Church Triumphant; another saint of the early Church, Eulalia, and Flora, who was martyred under ninth century Moslem rule. Included too are biographies of Bernadette of Lourdes and Catherine Labouré whose lives were the means of inspiration of increased devotion to the Blessed Virgin; the saint of the Sacred Heart, Margaret Mary, the much loved Thérèse of the Child Jesus and the less known Gemma Galgani. Women of action are represented by Joan of Arc, Catherine of Siena and the learned Catherine of Alexandria. Most interesting of all of them, perhaps, are the lives of Maria de la Luz Camacho and the Indian girl, Kateri Tekakwitha.

Full length biographical studies have been made of many of these women but these brief and vigorous biographies serve a purpose different from that of a fuller and more definitive hagiography. For busy lives in the modern world an important lesson emerges from these lives of sanctity, that of putting first things first.

Eleven members of the Society of Jesus have written these attractive sketches, and they have made them highly interesting reading. Fortunately, they have avoided the usual weaknesses of small biographies, which frequently are either concentrated numeration of bare facts or—the other extreme—entirely lacking in factual information. These writers have used both history and tradition, and they have told their stories in a manner which should appeal to a wide circle of readers.

LOIS BYRNS.

*The Early Years of Isaac Thomas Hecker. Vincent F. Holden, C.S.P. Catholic University.* $2.00.

WITH THIS publication by Father Holden it is for the first time possible to get a true picture of Isaac Hecker's early years and their relation to his later ones. Father Elliott's life of him, the only one that has so far given any aid to researchers, gives much of the religious and mystical in his life and valuable information as to his value to the Church. But here we have the young Hecker. First is his relationship to his family—the hard-working father and elder brothers, the Methodist mother whose strict affection had such power over her youngest son that Isaac's severest punishment was to be told she was angry at him. Secondly, this book gives young Hecker's interest in politics—especially the problems of labor, matters in which his brother too was greatly interested and through which he first met that stormy petrel of faith and works, Orestes Brownson, whom he was destined to influence, young though he was. But it is clear that Isaac's political interest, like that of his older friend, was always from the standpoint of curing labor disorders, of social amelioration.

Father Holden quotes letters full of Hecker's stay at Brook Farm and the friendships he made there, one of them with the Sophia Ripley whose confessor he was to become years later, and letters full of the rather bad weeks

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he spent at Alcott's Fruitlands, of his latter days at home and finally of his conversion. The book ends with a letter, written at St. Trond in Belgium, where he was a Redemptorist novice, explaining stiltedly but with clarity to his mother just why he became a Catholic.

More than a dissertation, this book is close to biography. It gives a very useful study of Hecker and is also a readable account for those who have not research as their reason for reading but merely interest in the man. They will see here how early Hecker saw in part the vision for which he lived his life: the development of a Church in the United States that would seem a vital part of American life, and which, while holding fast in every particular to truth and tradition, should yet make Americans, especially those still outside the fold, understand that this was no foreign thing but a House of Faith for all men.

KATHERINE BURTON.

CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL PROBLEMS

*The Censor Marches on. Morris L. Ernst and Alexander Lindey. Doubleday.* $2.50.

THE MAIN contribution of this book from a material standpoint is its comprehensive review of the laws, codes, agencies and litigation which within the past few years have been operating for or against the interest of public morals as these are affected by the productions of the theatre, movies, radio, books and cults specifically with reference to sex.

To the authors every finding that a questioned book is not obscene, every unsuccessful action taken by a committee like the Society for the Suppression of Vice, and every defeat of plans to regulate the theatre, movies, publications, nudism and the like is to be marked up as a victory for the cultivated and a defeat for the barbarous and hypocritical.

A somewhat interesting notion is put forward by the authors in the suggestion that the forces of "censorship" are the same forces which stand for fascist political ideas. Unexpectedly the authors have here reached common ground with a body of thinkers whose values and beliefs are very different from those manifested by this book. It has often been said by these thinkers that licentiousness belongs with leftist political ideas. This generalization easily passes over into the statement that immoralism is co-extensive with irreligion. So framed it is a dictum somewhat too extensive. To match the idea that licentiousness implies "radical" politics we find Messrs. Ernest and Lindey affirming that Grundyism implies conservative politics. These two assertions amount to the same thing so far as the assumed underlying facts are concerned. The difference between them consists in the incompatible ethical estimates made respecting the assumed body of facts.

The appendices contain reports of many recent decisions by the courts relative to plays and books involved in trials of charges of obscenity. Also published are the complete texts of the motion and talking picture code of December, 1934 and the code of standards for the broadcasting industry (1939).

JAMES N. VAUGHAN.

*Coal and Unionism. David J. McDonald and Edward A. Lynch. Lynald.* $2.50.

LAST MONTH the United Mine Workers, backbone of the CIO, held their Golden Jubilee Convention at Columbus, the town where their union was born.

Partly to celebrate the occasion miners McDonald and Lynch have written a history of the union's long and bit-


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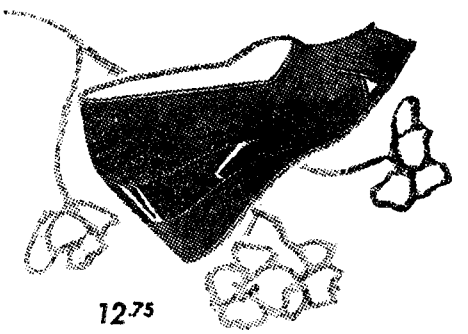

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ter but finally triumphant struggle to organize American miners into one big industrial union. Today their membership is 612,000, doubtless the largest union in the country, including "almost every coal miner in America."

"Coal and Unionism" is a book written by miners, of miners and for miners. As such the general reader will find it a little too concerned with the negotiation of contracts, smelling a little of old files of the *Mine Workers Journal*. But then contracts are the bones and blood of any union, and the back files of the miners' official publication contain many interesting things.

For example: during the first ten years of John L. Lewis's reign as president (1920- ) there was scarcely a union convention that didn't have at least one riot; In 1925 at the death of old Sam Gompers Lewis dictated the choice of his successor as AFL president and picked William Green, then miners' Secretary-Treasurer and a loyal member of the Lewis administration; Lewis could certainly have had the job himself if he'd wanted it.

Further: In 1927 the whole coal industry and its union went to pieces from the accumulated effects of World War over-expansion and the growing popularity of fuel oil and water power. In 1930 the union's membership had shrunk from over 500,000 to 100,000; its $7.50 a day wage scale was a dream of the past; and the anti-Lewis forces within its ranks, one of whose leaders was John Brophy (now a Lewis lieutenant) held a rump convention that broke the union in two.

Depression days, however, were happier days for the miners. For them the New Deal was well-named, and under the protective shadow of Section 7a of NIRA and the later Wagner Act they rebuilt their crumbling union, won new contracts and helped stabilize and vitalize a sick industry. In 1935 Lewis socked "Big Bill" Hutcheson in the jaw and organized the CIO; since then his miners have supplied more money and more able leaders to that body than most of its other unions combined.

For the United Mine Workers of America "Coal and Unionism" is a glorious record of achievement. As with most glorious records there is a seamy side. This is an objective account of the former, but we shall probably have to wait till Brophy writes a book before we get the low-down on the seams. JOHN C. CORT.

# *In the Groove*

ANTON BRUCKNER, grave-souled, celibate Austrian, dedicated his *Ninth* and last symphony to God. Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, son of converted Jews, composed his *Fifth* and last symphony for the tercentenary, in 1830, of the Augsburg Diet, and called it the *Reformation*. Dmitri Shostakovich's *Fifth* and latest symphony is a psalm of the pure Marxian faith; it celebrated the twentieth anniversary, in 1937, of the communist pentecost—the October Revolution. These prophetic or exegetical musical utterances (to stretch a few points) have been recorded, each for the first time.

Brucknerites, a tribe equaled in passionate sincerity only by Mahlerites (their first cousins), will rejoice that the first recording of the eloquent, surging (but also lengthy, and sometimes sagging) *Ninth* is the original version rather than that of Ferdinand Löwe, a Bruckner disciple whose well-meaning but prettified edition was the one played for nearly forty years after the composer's death. It is performed by the Munich Philharmonic under Siegmund von Hausseger (Victor album M-627, $14). The *Reformation Symphony* is a fine work, within Mendelssohn's limits (Howard Barlow and Columbia Broadcasting Symphony; Columbia album M-391, $6). The Shostakovich *Fifth Symphony,* for all its brash way of stating things, is comparable to the other two, and, as played with characteristic tonal magnificence by Stokowski and the Philadelphia Orchestra, it sounds of energy and youth (Victor album M-619, $12).

Incomparably the best piano records of the month are the Chopin *Mazurkas, Volume I* (Victor album M-626, $10). Played by Arthur Rubinstein, these essays in a limited dance form are full of strength, of imagination, of frequent melancholy, of spontaneity, of, in short, the Polish soul. . . . The anonymous pianist of Timely Records shows herself (my guess) versatile in the month's releases. She is at her best in Schumann's fantastic and beautiful *Faschingsschwank aus Wien* (Carnival Jest from Vienna), with four lyric miniatures from the *Bunte Blätter* on the odd side (album 7-C, $5).

US Records, whose recent ventures in the serious field have been truly praiseworthy, offers a notable work by an almost-forgotten master, the Neapolitan Leonardo Leo (1694-1744): a *Concerto for Four Violins,* which is a vigorous and melodious eighteenth-century jam session, played by Eddy Brown, Roman Totenberg, Boris Schwarz and Benno Rabinoff, with Dr. Ernest Wolff at the harpsichord (Royale 1826-27, $1.50).

Roland Hayes, long neglected by the recording companies, gives *A Song Recital* (Columbia album M-393, $5), and sings with sensitive artistry a program which should put to shame the compilers of some other recorded "recitals" of the past. Monteverdi, Galuppi, Bach and Beethoven are among the composers represented, and the last disc contains a wonderfully moving unaccompanied spiritual, *Crucifixion (He Never Said a Mumberlin' Word).* . . . Victor's great new property, Dorothy Maynor, is perhaps going to learn the niceties of interpretation as she goes along. But it is captious to complain of defects in musicianship when a great voice pours out such sheerly lovely quantities of tone as Miss Maynor does in *Oh, Sleep, Why Dost Thou Leave Me* from Handel's *Semele,* and *Ach, Ich Fühl's* from Mozart's *The Magic Flute* (accompaniment by the Boston Symphony under Koussevitzky, Victor 15826, $2). . . . A sombre and beautiful set is the *Collection of Songs* of Moussorgsky, four of them the *Songs and Dances of Death,* sung with restrained dramatic sense by Igor Gorin (Victor album M-636, $6.50).

The master who can do no wrong does Mozart a little wrong in his performance of one of the three last great symphonies, the *G Minor.* In his very first broadcast with the NBC Symphony—which must have assembled more eager Americans around their radios than any serious musical performance before or since—Arturo Toscanini played this work, as I recall it, with some restraint. In his present recording of it with the same orchestra, Toscanini drives hard, and the resultant high tension, though thoroughly listenable, is scarcely Mozartian (Victor album M-631, $6.50). The other outstanding "classic" album of the month is much more within the frame of the period: Handel's *Concerto Grosso No. 6 in G Minor,* apparently one of a projected series, capably if not excitingly done by Felix Weingartner and the London Symphony Orchestra (Columbia album X-154, $3.50).

Decca provides the best popular singing of the month: Hildegarde, silky-voiced and persuasive in *All the*

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*Things You Are* and *I Didn't Know What Time It Was,* both out of Broadway shows (23115). Alec Templeton's latest is less notable than his first three Victor discs: a tripartite imitation of *Phonograph Record, Player Piano and Carmen Lombardo,* backed by *Mendelssohn Mows 'Em Down* on the piano (26440).

Swing is looking up, although the trend is toward remaking old standbys rather than developing new material. The outstanding exception, one of the best discs of the month, is Muggsy Spanier's *Relaxin' at the Touro.* If the title baffles you, the Touro is a sanitarium in New Orleans where this maestro recovered from an illness which had been pronounced incurable. *Relaxin'* is his song of gratitude, and good musical reportage (Bluebird 10532).

Tommy Dorsey has made one of his finest discs in a two-sided collector's item, *Milenberg Joys* (Victor 26437). Some more old tunes, four classics by W. C. Handy which this veteran of jazz recorded himself, have caused considerable controversy: shouts of "Historic!" on one side and "Corny!" on the other. Handy is an old man and his playing is weak, but it is interesting to hear how he thinks the *St. Louis Blues, Beale Street Blues, Loveless Love* and *Way Down South Where the Blues Begin* should be played. So, corny or not, they're historic, too (Varsity 8162-3).

Two great piano soloists, Peter Johnson and Jess Stacy, have brought forth discs of importance during the month. Stacy's *EcStacy* backed by *The Sell Out,* released by Commodore (1503), is a marvel of technical skill. Pete Johnson puts more romp and fun in his style, and *You Don't Know My Mind* and *Holler Stomp* are among his best work (Blue Note, 12, $1.50). And if Blue Note's record No. 6, the Sidney Bechet Quintet's version of *Summertime,* has not yet come to your attention, look it up. With Bechet as soprano saxophone soloist, it's one of the finest hot jazz recordings ever made.

The mournful history of a woman who has lost faith in something she had learned to trust—a typical Negro blues theme—turns political in *Pink Slip Blues.* Herein the plight of a woman who received the pink slip after four years on the WPA. Ida Cox, an oldtimer now making a comeback in New York, moans with excellent support from a band of topnotchers including, among others, Fletcher Henderson, Artie Bernstein and Lionel Hampton. Backed by a good old-style blues, *Take Him Off My Mind* (Vocalion 05258).

Briefer recommendations: *Between 18th and 19th on Chestnut Street* by Bob Crosby (Decca 2935) . . . *Strut Miss Lizzie* and *It's All Here For You,* by Eddie Condon and an all-star band (Commodore 530) . . . *You Gave Me the Go-by* and *Why Didn't William Tell,* by the Sextet of the Rhythm Club of London, whose guiding spirit is the nicely-named Leonard Feather (Bluebird 10557) . . . For good bass-slapping, Tommy Dorsey's *Losers Weepers* (Victor 26439) . . . The *Rhumba Jumps* by Hoagy Carmichael and Johnny Mercer, played by Woody Herman (Decca 2939) . . . Traditional blues: *When the Saints Go Marching In* and *Sudan,* by Wingy Manone (Bluebird 10560) . . . The Milt Hirth Trio, a picturesque combination of Hammond "organ," drum and piano, in *At a Georgia Camp Meeting* and *The Monkeys Have No Tails in Pago Pago* (Decca 2964) . . . If you can stand the lusty shouting and beating-it-out of Fats Waller, and many can, try the *Darktown Strutters Ball* and *I Can't Give You Anything But Love, Baby* (Bluebird 10573).

CARL J. BALLIETT, JR.

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# *The Inner Forum*

EVERY YEAR Yale University of New Haven, Connecticut, has a Christian Conference Week; this year for the first time a Catholic priest has been included on the program. Yale was the first visit of Father William E. Orchard, the English convert minister and author who is touring the United States under the auspices of the St. Paul Guild, a national organization which disseminates information about the Church and assists converts.

The Christian Conference in New Haven was sponsored jointly by the Church of Christ in Yale University, Dwight Hall, which is the University Christian Association, and the More Club, which is the University Catholic club, and under the patronage of Saint Thomas More. The whole conference had the sanction of the New England university, and Father Orchard's part in it had the approval of Bishop McAuliffe of Hartford.

There were four evening conferences, or lectures, beginning February 4, given by Father Orchard and Dr. Richard Roberts of the United Church of Canada, a friend of Father Orchard all his life and formerly a colleague in the Protestant clergy. These were given in a university hall, and more than 700 attended them. The lectures were expository—in no sense a debate—on such subjects as the Existence and Nature of God, the Incarnation, Redemption, the Holy Spirit.

Informal afternoon discussions held in Yale's new resident colleges supplemented the lectures. Father Orchard and Dr. Roberts attended as many of these as possible, and others were directed by professors. The approach of the addresses and conferences was directly to show what Christianity is and can offer to the critical secularist.

The strictly religious services were separate, for Protestants conducted by Dr. Roberts in Dwight Chapel. Father Orchard conducted a four-day retreat, beginning with 7:15 Mass, in St. Thomas More Chapel.

During his stay in America Father Orchard is expected to lecture at Princeton, Columbia and other non-sectarian universities. He also will talk before various gatherings in Utica, Baltimore, Palm Beach and other cities. He will address three meetings of the Brooklyn Diocesan Convert Apostolate. His lectures in New York include two talks on the "Culture of the Devotional Life" for the YWCA, and three lectures on Dante's Divine Comedy. An address at the Plaza Hotel, February 15, will deal with the "Intellectual Basis of Catholicism."

## *CONTRIBUTORS*

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